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895: ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι.

The probably intended meaning of this is that which Emerson often gives to it in the version, "The dice of God are always loaded."

I regret that Mr. Pearson has substituted the "new metric" for the system followed by Jebb, and adopted the schemes of Professor Schroeder and Professor White. I wonder if he has really considered the matter. I am sure that no student will be helped by being told that ῥηγνὸς ἀρμονίαν χορδοτόνου λύρας (fr. 244) is an "asclepiad trimeter,"

And after my experience in listening to Professor Wilamowitz I have no idea that Mr. Pearson really reads the line in that way. He only writes it so.

PAUL SHOREY

The Religious Thought of the Greeks from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity. BY CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916. Pp. 385. \$2.00.

"In this book eight lectures given before the Lowell Institute in Boston during the late autumn of 1914 are combined with material drawn from a course of lectures delivered the previous spring before the Western Colleges with which Harvard University maintains an annual exchange" (Preface). As a result of this combination the book consists of the following ten lectures: (i) "Homer and Hesiod"; (ii) "Orphism, Pythagoreanism, and the Mysteries"; (iii) "Religion in the Poets of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C."; (iv) "The Fifth Century at Athens"; (v) "Plato and Aristotle"; (vi) "Later Religious Philosophies"; (vii) "The Victory of Greece over Rome"; (viii) "Oriental Religions in the Western Half of the Roman Empire"; (ix) "Christianity"; (x) "Christianity and Paganism." There are also appendixes, giving selected bibliographies and a specimen of a Roman calendar (from the *Fasti Praenestini*), and an index.

To write the history of the religious thought of a thousand years is not a task to be undertaken lightly, and we must respect and admire one who has both undertaken it and accomplished it. Success in this task makes two demands: on the one hand, a quick sympathy with religious values, and a thorough knowledge of the many religious and philosophical systems which fall within the period; on the other, somewhat unusual skill in solving the literary problems of selection and composition.

Professor Moore has written out of full knowledge. One is soon aware of a firm philological foundation underfoot. Each one of the ten topics receives safe and sober treatment. With a few insignificant exceptions, the truth of the statements is not open to question. The book is eminently safe and orthodox. In the quality of sympathy, some of the lectures are better

than others. It was not to be expected that all parts of so large a theme should be handled with the same zest. But, on the whole, one must admit that the reliability of the book does not suffer from an excess of imagination. There is a certain lack of freshness and vigor both in observation and expression. One is seldom startled by flashes of insight in an obscure subject. And yet, in a book whose substance is not new, it is just this clairvoyant fancy which counts the most. But the brief digests which are offered of practically all the significant philosophic and religious systems of antiquity are an evidence of patient labor, and the book presents in an orderly, systematic, and thorough way the known facts.

The second requirement imposed by Professor Moore's undertaking he has met with varying success. Some of the chapters are admirably written. In these, though handling large subjects in a brief space, he has made wise choice of the significant and vital features and presented them with order and lucidity. In other chapters, failing to grasp the essential matter, he has introduced an excessive amount of undigested detail. Indeed, throughout the book not a little gratuitous information is offered, which is irrelevant and disconcerting. In the Preface the author expresses the fear that he will be blamed for his omissions. This fear is inevitable in the mind of a scholar who possesses both wide and intimate knowledge of his subject. Alarmed at the possibility of being thought superficial, he sometimes veers into the opposite whirlpool and becomes encyclopedic. The chapters which are most open to criticism on this score are the first, third, and seventh. The other chapters, though written in a no less authoritative spirit, are executed with bolder and broader strokes and are therefore better conceived for the general reader.

But these observations touch only the smaller excellencies and defects of style. The most important criticism of the book is concerned with its larger plan, with its conception as a whole.

"Ultimately," says the author (p. 4), "if our study is successful, we shall have discovered in some measure, I trust, what permanent contributions the Greeks made to our own religious ideas." (Cf. also p. 294.) Tried by this test, the study is undoubtedly successful. When the reader has finished the book, he realizes that he has been a spectator of the several solemn processions of human thought which moved through the pagan world of Greece and Rome and were finally united in the vast concourse which marched thereafter under the name of Christianity. This is a high and noble theme for the author's study. But the book in which he treats this theme should not be called the "Religious Thought of the Greeks." From such a title one has a right to expect an account of Greek religious thought down to Plato, Aristotle, and their immediate successors, but hardly looks for an account of the religious thought of the whole western world and part of the Orient during the next three or four centuries. The philosophical thought of the Roman Empire, like the philosophical thought of the present

day, is founded on Greek philosophy. Indeed, much of it was expressed in the Greek language. But it is not reasonable to maintain that it was the product of the Greeks. Undoubtedly Greek thought, an imperishable heritage from the mighty past, was dominant during the first centuries of the Christian era; but the men who actually thought and wrote at this time were Syrians, Egyptians, Romans, even Greeks, but all citizens of the world. If we read the book and forget the title, we realize that its theme begins properly with Plato, and that the comparatively unsatisfactory chapters on Greek thought antecedent to the birth of philosophy from Plato, under the midwifery of Socrates, should have been omitted. Undoubtedly Platonic thought had its roots deep in the past, but the vital element in it from which grew the philosophies, theologies, and theosophies of later ages was the creation of the master himself. All that is significant in the first, third, and fourth chapters for the main theme of the book, and the substance of the second chapter could have been fused into a single chapter introductory to Plato. The space of three chapters thus saved would have made possible a fuller treatment of later topics (Epicureanism, for example), which are touched rather lightly.

If these earlier movements of Greek thought were to be described at all, if the history of religion from Homer to the end of the fifth century B.C. was to be truly expounded and elucidated, more study and reflection should have gone into the task than seems to lie back of the first four chapters of the present book. It seems to the reviewer (who is more familiar with the period covered by these chapters than with the later period) that most of what is said in them is sound and true; the orthodox views are expressed, the customary passages from the Greek authors are quoted by way of illustration. But all this forms no proper part of the present book, and it has all been done before. If it was to be done again, there should at least have been some freshness of interpretation, some evidence of clearer vision into the baffling problem of the religion of the Greeks during the period of their greatness.

In the first and third chapters, on Homer and the poets, we find a conscientious presentation of the facts. In the one the author seems to have made extensive levies upon Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age*; in the other he seems to be giving a transcription of accumulated notes; in both we have excellent collections of material for a thoughtful estimate of the religious views of the poets concerned. But we find few illuminating generalizations, no organic concentration, no spontaneity of literary art. In the second of these two chapters there are far too many quotations; the reader resents the constant shift required in his attitude of attention, and he sometimes suspects that something quite different could be proved if other quotations were chosen. It is especially disquieting to find, as an illustration of Aeschylus' religious views, a speech in the *Septem* which Eteocles delivers when his mind is already unsettled by the influence of the curse. In many cases

the quotations are made from standard translations; those by Professor Moore's own hand are sometimes perhaps a little commonplace. The following will serve as examples: *Theognis* 377, "How is it, then, son of Cronos, that thy mind endures to keep wicked men and the just subject to the same lot?" (p. 80); *Theognis* 731, "Father Zeus, would that it might be the will of the gods that insolence be the pleasure of the wicked" (p. 80); Pindar *Isth.* 6. 71, "pursuing the mean in his thought and maintaining it in his acts" (p. 86); Pindar *Isth.* 5. 13, "If one prosper and enjoy a good name, still seek not to become Zeus" (p. 87). (In this connection should be noted the omission in the bibliography of Croiset's *La Poesie de Pindare*, which contains an admirable study of Pindar's religious thought and is full of illuminating observations.)

The account of Orphism in the second chapter is conventional but good. Like all descriptions of Orphic ideas and practices, it is an imaginative reconstruction of a certain religious attitude rather than an authentic account of known facts. But this is inevitable in a subject where the evidence is so scanty. Still, the thoughtful reader, and even the thoughtful listener, would be glad of some brief explanation of the sources of our knowledge of Orphism. For the author's larger purpose a full consideration of Orphic ideas is essential; they belong in the main current of evolution which passes through Plato and later mysticism into Christianity. But as the chapter has been written, there is a slight danger of misconception on the reader's part concerning the importance of Orphism in popular religious thought. In spite of the sporadic appearance of Orphic ideas in Greek poetry of the fifth century, there is nothing to show that the Orphics themselves were ever anything more than a non-conformist sect.

When we come to the discussion of the "Fifth Century in Athens," we find that considerable space is given to what might be called the cult of imperialism. Religion had become more of a state concern than it had been in the past, we are told; and a long passage is quoted from the funeral speech of Pericles to show the religious temper of the age. Now this famous speech is not a religious document at all. Religion had never had any consolation to offer to the dying or to the bereaved. What comfort had Hector to offer to Andromache? The fact of religious importance demonstrated by Pericles' speech, or by Thucydides' version of it, is that on a great public occasion nothing was said of the hope of immortality which was offered by the mysteries at Eleusis. Religion was really not more of a state concern in the fifth century than it had been in the past. The splendor of the Athenian empire had added splendor to the cult of Athena, but patriotism and pride of empire did not take the place of religion. The real change in religious feeling which is apparent in the fifth century was due to the sophists and the philosophers, and it had begun in the previous century. The notable thing about the fifth century is that it produced more poets and artists who could reveal the temper of the age.

With the chapter on "Plato and Aristotle" the author enters upon the main course of his work and describes with great skill the foundation of Greek philosophy, upon which the towering structure of later religious theory was built. From this point the book proceeds steadily and confidently toward its goal in Christianity. The chapter on the "Victory of Greece over Rome" contains much that is irrelevant; the description of early Roman religion, in particular, might be spared, since this quaint religion had no important influence on the thought of the Greco-Roman world. One would have welcomed in its stead a clear account of Jewish religious ideas, to which for some reason the author gives very slight attention. The other oriental religions, however, and their vogue in the western half of the Roman Empire are admirably described. One finds here the fulness of detail and the sympathetic treatment which he expects from a scholar who has labored diligently in this particular field. The whole second half of the book is admirably composed. The difficult problems of selection and restraint have been successfully solved; and under the author's expert guidance one feels that the mysteries and complexities of later religious philosophies are really simple and comprehensible after all. The discussion is always impartial and objective, but also always sympathetic, even in the case of the most bizarre efforts of humanity to adjust itself to the divine government of the universe.

The essential lack of unity in the book and the inappropriateness of the title should be apparent from the chapter-headings in the Table of Contents when the book is first opened. But the reader becomes more convinced of these things and more regretful when he has discovered how ably and how successfully the author has handled his proper theme. One could hardly send a student to a better brief exposition of the Hellenic and pagan elements in Christian theology and of the sources of these elements in Hellenic and post-Hellenic philosophy. And it is unfortunate that the title was not so chosen as to attract the many readers who would profit by this exposition. The world needs to be better acquainted with the Hellenic element in Christianity. The Protestant cult of the Old Testament has warped the conception of Christianity in the popular mind, and Professor Moore has done a real service in setting forth clearly and dispassionately the vast debt which Christianity owes to the enlightened thought of Greece and the West.

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IVAN M. LINFORTH

An Index to Facsimiles in the Palaeographical Society Publications.

Arranged as a guide for students in palaeography. By LINDLEY RICHARD DEAN. Princeton: The University Library, 1914. Pp. 55.

This index will be a welcome relief to those who wish to find their way through the wilderness of facsimiles published by the Palaeographical